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Notes on Buddhist Art.—By Dr. SERGĚJ FEDOROVICH OLDENBURG, Privat-Docent for Sanskrit, University of St. Petersburg, Russia.—Translated from the Russian by LEO WIENER, Instructor in the Slavic Languages, Harvard University.

Editorial Note.

This paper appeared in the collection entitled *Vostočnyja Zamětki* ('Oriental Notes') of the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the University of St. Petersburg, and was published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg in 1895. The Faculty's permission to print is dated August 25, 1894. My attention was first called to it by a brief report of its results in JRAS. for July, 1896, pages 623-627.

I had long been collecting materials for an orderly report upon the identifications of the Jātaka-sculptures; and this fact made me desirous to see in English dress the results of Dr. Oldenburg's studies. My wish was seconded by Dr. Oldenburg, who very kindly sent me a reprint of his paper. Such considerations apart, however, the publication of the author's results in this Journal seems amply warranted by their intrinsic interest, and by the value which they have, not only for students of Buddhist art, but also for students of comparative literature. What better vouchers could we have for the antiquity of the Jātaka stories than are the stone-cut illustrations of them which adorn the rails of the Bharhut tope?

The paper covers pages 337-365 of the quarto from which it is reprinted. I have indicated the beginning of each page of the Russian original by giving its number in **Clarendon type** in square brackets in the translation.

The paper consists of two parts. The prior and more important one, pages 337-359, is entitled "On some sculptures and pictorial representations of the Buddhist Jātakas at Bharhut, Ajañtā, and Boro-Boedoer." The second part, pages 359-365, is entitled "On Khotan bronzes from the collection of N. F. Petrovskij." This second part, for lack of space, we have omitted.

The thanks of the Society, and my personal thanks as well, are due to my colleague, Mr. Wiener, who with the greatest kindness volunteered to make an English version of the essay.—
C. R. LANMAN.

I. On some sculptures and pictorial representations of the Buddhist Jatakas at Bharhut, Ajanta, and Boro-Boedoer.¹

Buddhist artists began very early to represent with chisel and brush not only figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and other Buddhist teachers and saints, but also episodes from the last earthly existence of the master, and from the series of his former incarnations, the stories of which are told in the Jātakas. The caves, stūpas, and temples are covered with numerous representations of this kind; but only a part of these treasures is accessible to us in trustworthy reproductions; and of these, only a small part has been satisfactorily explained. In the course of my Buddhistic studies, I have had frequent occasion to refer to these extra-literary monuments, and have succeeded in ascertaining the meaning of certain representations, especially of the Jātakas. I here offer some of these observations, and hope in time to give a more systematic and complete investigation of the material at hand so far as it bears on the relation of Buddhist art to Buddhist teaching and legends. In these notes I shall touch on the stūpa of Bharhut, the caves of Ajañṭā, and the temple of Boro-Boedoer.

Before passing over to the discussion of the representations themselves, I shall make a remark of a general character in regard to such deductions concerning the antiquity of Buddhist sacred literature as are based on the extra-literary monuments and the inscriptions frequently found [338] upon them; I shall dwell upon the latest statement of the kind by Professor Bühler in his excellent article on the origin of the Indian alphabet known as Brāhmī lipi.² Professor Bühler thinks that the data given in the Pāli canon may refer to the fifth and perhaps even to the sixth century B. C. And then he assumes that the Pāli collection of the Jātakas formed, as early as the third century B. C., part of the "Buddhist canon" (which he evidently identifies with the Pāli canon), and that the latter was then "fully settled."³ As to referring the data of the Pāli canon to the fifth and sixth century, I shall merely direct the reader to the articles by I. P. Minaev, who has made a minute investigation of this opinion, and who, it seems to me, has conclusively overthrown it.⁴ In regard to the Jātakas I will say that it is impossible to combine the verses and the prose in them, as the prose, according to the

¹ For *Boodoor* or *Boudour*, I retain the familiar Dutch spelling *Boedoer*.

² Bühler, G., "On the origin of the Indian Brāhma alphabet." *Indian Studies*, no. III., SB. W. A. Ph.-H. Cl., Vol. cxxxii., No. v. (1895).

³ L. c., pages 15 and 17.

⁴ Minaev, I. P., "Novyja izslédovanija o buddizmě," *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija* (Ž. M. N. P.), 1882, July, 102 ff., October, 402 ff.

testimony of tradition itself, belongs to a later time. The only quotation known to us from the Jātaka on a Bharhut inscription¹ is the beginning of a verse. Comparisons with Sanskrit Jātakas containing verses (the number of such Jātakas now accessible to us is very limited) prove that the Jātakas are almost identical in the poetical part, but that they differ widely in the prose parts in the different redactions. All that the presence of a Jātaka on a bas-relief conclusively proves is that the subject or the fable was known at a given time; but it is impossible to say what the form was, or whether it coincided with the text that we possess; the representations give us only a small number of details; and besides we do not know how closely the artists of that time were in the habit of following the text which they illustrated.² Thus, for example, it is difficult to say precisely why the artist in representing the Dabbha-puppha-jātaka, called Uda on the bas-relief (below, No. 39), has depicted a [339] hermit of whom the text says nothing, and why he did not represent the tree-god as which Buddha³ was then incarnate. Probably we have here really an illustration to a somewhat different text; and that such a one may have existed we see from a Tibetan text, evidently translated from the Sanskrit,⁴ which resembles essentially the Pāli version, but differs from it very much in particulars.

An incontestable proof that the Bharhut representations of the Jātakas do not form illustrations to the canonical text of the Pāli Jātakas⁵ we find in the following: one of the Jātakas is called in the bas-relief Yava-majhakiyaṃ jātakam; there is no such Jātaka in the Pāli collection; but, as I. P. Minaev⁶ was the first to show, there is in the Mahā-ummagga-jātaka an episode similar to the one represented in the bas-relief. The difference in naming one and the same Jātaka may not be a conclusive proof, since sometimes even the Pāli Jātaka-manuscripts themselves give different names

¹ Hultsch, E., "Bharhut inscriptions," *Indian Antiquary*, xxi. 226.

² [Editor's note.—The Arāma-dūsaka Jātaka well illustrates how congruent in essentials and how discrepant in details are the sculptures and the canonical text. In the first version of this story, Fausbøll, i. 250¹, the king's gardener gives the monkeys water-skins and wooden watering-pots to use in watering the garden—in Pāli, *cammaṇḍe* ('skin-bags?') *c'eva dārūkuṭe ca*; in the second, F., ii. 345², he gives them for the same purpose skin-vessels—in Pāli, *cammaghaṭake*; while in the Bharhut sculpture the monkeys are using earthen chatties slung in nettings.

Again, in the Mahā-ummagga, the virtuous wife puts the men, according to Minaev's version, p. 190 below, 'in a basket' (*v korzinu*); and in the Kathā-sarit-sāgara, the prudent Upakoṣa puts her four would-be lovers 'in a big chest with bolts' (*mañjūṣā*, etc., iv. 48); while in the Bharhut sculpture, xxv. 3 (see No. 5 in the List), the men have been put in three baskets.—C. R. L.]

³ Compare Warren, S. J., *Two Bas-reliefs*, etc., p. 17.

⁴ See Schiefner, A., *Tibetan tales derived from Indian sources*, London, 1882, pages 332–334, The two Otters and the Jackal.

⁵ See Bühler, I. c., 16.

⁶ Minaev, I. P., *Buddhism*, vol. i., St. Petersburg, 1887, pages 151–154.

to one and the same text; but the elevation of the episode into a separate Jātaka serves, in my opinion, as a manifest indication that the Bharhut artist did not have at his hand the Pāli text as we know it. The supposition that the Yava-majhakiya may be the name for the whole Mahā-ummagga-jātaka appears to me entirely incredible. If Hultzsich's identification¹ of the Kinara-jātaka (see below, No. 14) with the episode in the Takkāriya-jātaka (as opposed to its identification with the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka accepted by Warren and me) is correct, we still have a second case similar to the one just adduced. Sacred books, no doubt, existed among the Buddhists in very remote times; inscriptions and extra-literary monuments sufficiently prove this, but only this. We have no definite ancient indications of a canon or canons. We cannot regard the collections of Buddhist books [340] which have come down to us in Chinese and Tibetan translations as "*dissecta membra* of ancient tradition,"² because we do not know with what whole collection to compare them, since the composite Pāli canon, many parts of which are undoubtedly of late origin, can in no way in its entirety be the original old Buddhist canon, if such a canon ever existed.

1. Bharhut.

It will be useful at this point, I think, to give the literature of the subject so far as I know it.

1. CUNNINGHAM, Alexander. *The stūpa of Bharhut: a Buddhist monument ornamented with numerous sculptures illustrative of Buddhist legend and history in the third century B. C.* London, 1879.

2. RHYS DAVIDS, T. W. *Buddhist birth stories; or Jātaka tales.* Translation. London, 1880. See Introduction, pages cii-ciii.

3. ANDERSON, John. *Catalogue and hand-book of the archaeological collections in the Indian Museum.* Calcutta, 1883. Part I. Pages xii-xx (key to the Bharhut stūpa), and 1-120 (gateway and railing of the Bharhut stūpa).

4. HOERNLE, A. F. R. "Readings from the Bharhut stūpa." *Indian Antiquary*, x. 118-121 and 255-259 (1881); xi. 25-32 (1882).

5. BEAL, Samuel. "Remarks on the Bharhut sculptures and inscriptions." *Ind. Ant.*, xi. 47-50 (1882).

6. DICKSON, J. F. "The popular acceptance of the Jātakas as shown in picture stories and sculptures." *Journal of the Ceylon Branch RAS.*, viii., No. 28 (1884), 130-139 (in the article "Papers on the first fifty Jātakas," edited by the Right Rev. R. S. Copleston, Lord Bishop of Colombo).

¹ See Hultzsich, E., l. c., p. 226.

² Bühler, l. c., p. 17, note 2.

7. HULTZSCH, E. "Ueber eine Sammlung indischer Handschriften und Inschriften." ZDMG. xl. 1-80 (Bharhut-Inschriften, 58-80) (1886).

8. MINAEV, I. P. *Buddizm. Izslédovanija i Materialy*. St. Petersburg, 1887. i. 97-184. (Bharhutskaja stūpa. Bharhutskie obraza i nadpisi. Drevnebuddijskij kul't po bharhutskim barel'efam.)

9. ZOYSA, L. de. "Notes on certain Jātakas relative to the sculptures recently discovered in North India." *Journal of the Ceylon Branch RAS.*, x., No. 35 (1887), 175-218. Posthumous publication. In the Appendix is reprinted the correspondence of several savants in regard to the Bharhut stūpa previous to the publication of Cunningham's book, and, further, the list of the 550 Jātakas of the Pāli collection.

10. WARREN, S. J. *Two bas-reliefs of the stupa of Bharhut, explained by S. J. Warren*. Leiden, 1890.

11. TAWNEY, C. "Mahā-kapi-jātaka." *Proceedings ASB.*, Aug., 1891, pages 120-122.

12. WARREN, S. J. "Heilige Fabeln, IV., V." *De Gids*, 1893, No. 7. For the references to Mr. Warren's two essays I am indebted to the kindness of Professor H. Kern.

13. HULTZSCH, E. "Bharaut inscriptions." *Ind. Ant.*, xxi. 225-242 (1892).

Of all Buddhist sacred edifices, so far, at least, as they have been up to the present time investigated, undoubtedly the oldest is the Bharhut Stūpa, which was probably built in the third or second century B. C. [341] Along with a large number of other sculptures, it has preserved for us sculptured representations of a whole series of Jātakas; but of these at present only one-half can be explained. On some of these Jātaka-sculptures are inscribed the names of the stories which they illustrate; in other cases the inscriptions have been destroyed through the decay of the stone; and in others still there have been no names from the start. In some representations (the medallions), several distinct scenes are combined in one sculpture; and these we must carefully separate and analyze when we wish to explain them. So, for example, the coping-sculpture of the Uda-jātaka (below, p. 189, No. 39), which Cunningham, in his description,¹ speaks of as containing only one scene, contains in reality two scenes: namely, one in which the jackal decides the discussion of the otters in regard to the fish; and another, in which the jackal goes away with a piece of fish in his jaws. Similarly in the medallion of the Isi-siṃgiya-jātaka (see below, No. 9), we are to look not for one scene, as Cunningham says,² but for three scenes: 1. The doe is licking up the semen of the hermit which has fallen to the earth; 2. The birth

¹ Cunningham, l. c., page 75.

² Cunningham, l. c., p. 64.

of the boy ; 3. The hermit is lighting a fire. In the representation of the Miga-jātaka (see below, No. 3), there are also three scenes : 1. The Ruru doe swims across a river with a man on her back ; 2. The king starts out to hunt the doe ; 3. The king speaks respectfully to the doe.

I thought it would be most convenient to make a table of all the Jātaka-sculptures and then to explain such as need any explanation.

List of bas-reliefs with Jatakas on the Bharhut Stupa.

[The Arabic numerals in the first column are simply current numbers for convenience of reference. The Roman numerals in the second column refer to the Plates in Cunningham's *Bharhut*, and the Arabic numerals to the right of the Roman refer to the figures on those Plates. The third column gives the inscriptions where there are any. The Arabic numerals in the fourth column refer to the current numbers of the Jātaka-*tales* in Fausböll's edition or to those of Westergaard's catalogue (W.). The fifth column gives the names, as printed by Fausböll, of the several Jātakas with which the sculptures referred to in column 1 are now identified. Stars placed before the numbers in the first column indicate that there is a note referring to that number in the Notes which follow the List.—Ed.]

1.	XVIII.	Vitura Punakiya jatakam	W. 537	Vidhūra-pañḍita
2.	XIX.	Brahmadevo mā- navako		?
*3.	XXV.	1 Miga jātakaṃ	482	Ruru
4.	XXV.	2 Nāga jātaka	267	Kakkāṭa
*5.	XXV.	3 Yavamajhakiyaṃ jatakam	W. 538	In Mahā-ummagga
*6.	XXV.	4 Mugapakaya [jā]- taka	W. 530	Mūga-pakkha
7.	XXVI.	5 Laṭuvā jātaka	357	Laṭukika
*8.	XXVI.	6 Chadamtiya jāta- kam	514	Chaddanta
9.	XXVI.	7 Isi-siṃgi[ya jā]- ta[kā]	523	Alambusa
*10.	XXVI.	8 Yaṃ bram[h]ano avayesi jatakam	62	Anda-bhūta
11.	XXVII.	9	206	Kuruṅga-miga
*12.	XXVII.	10	349	Saṃdhi-bheda (?)
13.	XXVII.	11 Haṃsa jātaka	32	Nacca
*14.	XXVII.	12 Kinara jātaka	504	Bhallātiya
15.	XXVII.	13	181	Asadisa
*16.	XXVII.	14		?
17.	XXVII.	Fragm.		?
18.	XXXIII.	1-3		?

19.	XXXIII.	4	407	Mahā-kapi
20.	XXXIII.	5		?
21.	XXXIII.	6		?
22.	XXXIII.	7		?
23.	XXXIV.	1		?
24.	XXXIV.	2		?
25.	XXXIV.	3		?
26.	XL.	2-5		?
*27.	XLI.	1,3	324	Camma-sāṭaka
28.	XLI.	5		?
29.	XLII.	1,5		?
30.	XLII.	7,9		?
*31.	XLIII.	2,8	Isi-migo jataka 372	Miga-potaka
32.	XLIV.	2	U..... Jānako rāja Sivala devi W. 531	Mahā-janaka
33.	XLIV.	4		?
34.	XLIV.	6		?
35.	XLV.	3		?
36.	XLV.	5	46 & 268	Arāma-dūsaka
*37.	XLV.	7	42	Kapota
38.	XLV.	9	Citupādasila	?
39.	XLVI.	2	Uda jataka 400	Dabbha-puppha
40.	XLVI.	4		?
41.	XLVI.	6		?
42.	XLVI.	8	Secha jataka 174	Dūbhiya-makkaṭa
43.	XLVII.	3	Sujato gahuto ja- taka 352	Sujāta
44.	XLVII.	5	Bidala jata[ka], Kukkuṭa jataka 383	Kukkuṭa
45.	XLVII.	7	Daḍanikamo ca- kama	?
46.	XLVII.	9	Asaḍā vadhu su- sāne sigāla nāti	?
47.	XLVIII.	2	Maghādeviya ja- takaṃ 9	Makhā-deva
48.	XLVIII.	7	Bhisa-haraniya jataka 488	Bhisa
49.	XLVIII.	9,11	Veḍuko katha do- hati Naḍode pa- vate	?
			Jabū Naḍode pa- vate	?
50.	Cunningham, l. c.,	preface, p. vi.	W. 539	Vessantara

[Page 342 of the original Russian begins with No. 12; and page 343 with No. 44.]

Notes to the starred numbers in the foregoing list.

[Editorial Note to No. 3. "This is rather the Nigrodha Miga Jātaka, No. 12, as is clear from the doe in the front of the scene laying her head on the block."—Rhys Davids, JRAS., 1896, p. 623.]

Note to No. 5. This Jātaka was for the first time explained by I. P. Minaev, who gave a translation of the corresponding text. As the Pāli text is not published, I shall give here Minaev's translation.¹

"When they found out in the city," so it is told in the Pāli version of the sacred tradition, "that the wise man had run away, there arose a great noise. When Senaka and the other wise men (enemies of him who had fled) heard of his flight, they began to say, 'Don't worry, for are not we wise men?'"

"Without saying anything to each other, they sent each one a present² to Amarādevī (that is the wise woman)."

"The wise woman took the presents and said to each one: 'Come at such and such a time.' When they came, she shaved their heads and threw them into the sink."

"After having vexed the wise men for a while, she put them in a basket. Having informed the king, and taking with her the four jewels together with the four wise men, she went into the castle of the king, bowed before the king, and then stood still."

"'King,' said the wise woman, 'not the wise Mahosadha is the thief, but here are the thieves, etc.'"

"And then the wise woman disclosed how the adversaries of her husband had stolen the jewels of the king and had sent them to her, while they calumniated her husband."

Note to No. 6. This is, as has already been pointed out by Cunningham and Rhys Davids, the Mūga-pakkha-jātaka, i. e. the 'Jātaka of the dumb cripple.' Its contents have been given by I. P. Minaev.³ A translation from the [344] Burmese has been made by St. Andrew St. John.⁴ The Tibetan version was translated by Schiefner.⁵ On the bas-relief there are three scenes: in the first, prince Temiya is on his knees before his father; in the second, the prince is taken to the woods, and they are digging a hole for him; the third may be explained in two ways: α, the king is visiting the prince, who has become a hermit

¹ Minaev, I. P., *Buddizm*, 152-153.

² The presents were things that had been stolen from the king.

³ Minaev, I. P., "Indějskija skazki," *Ž. M. N. P.*, 1876, ii. 399-400.

⁴ R. F. St. Andrew St. John, "Temiya Jātaka Vatthu," JRAS., 1898, pages 357-391.

⁵ Schiefner, A., *Tibetan Tales*, 247-256. (XIV., The dumb cripple.) I cannot refrain from pointing out the incontestible connection of this Jātaka with the story of the prince, in the Arabian-Persian version of Barlam and Joasaf. Compare "Persidskij izvod pověsti o Varlaamě i Ioasafě," *Z. V. O.*, iv. 243 ff.

(against this, however, speaks the fact that in the Burmese text, which is translated from the Pāli, the king visits the prince in the monastery); *b*, the prince goes into the woods to be initiated by a hermit (according to the Tibetan version).

[Note to No. 8. Cf. No. 4 in the Ajaṇṭā list, below.]

Note to No. 10. Dr. Hultzsch was the first to point out (*Ind. Ant.* xxi, 227, 239) that this quotation is the beginning of a first verse of the Pāli text.

Note to No. 12. See the translation below. I am not quite sure of its identification, as I cannot understand why the jackal is represented with one foot in the snare.

Note to No. 14. This Jātaka has been explained in three ways: Cunningham and Rhys Davids saw in it the Canda-kinnara-jātaka, No. 485; Hultzsch sees in it an episode from the Takkāriya-jātaka, No. 481, Fausböll, iv., pages 252-254; Warren and I see in it the Bhallāṭiya-jātaka, No. 504; the bas-relief represents the king listening to the complaints of the two kinnaras. The first and second explanations, however, are quite probable; only it is impossible to say with entire confidence which one of the three is the correct one, as the representation is not at all characteristic, and lacks all details in execution. I must here say that only a drawing and not a photograph of it is accessible to me. [The Canda Kinnara is also illustrated in R. Mitra's *Buddha Gayā*, plate xxxiv. 2.]

Note to No. 16. In this representation Cunningham and Rhys Davids and Hultzsch see the Dasaratha-jātaka, No. 461. I am not convinced of the correctness of this identification, and I regard the bas-relief as unexplained.

Note to No. 27. The bas-relief represents in two scenes the Camma-sāṭaka-jātaka (see below, p. 194): 1, a monk enters, a ram and a wise [345] merchant being on the scene; 2, the ram has butted the monk, who has fallen down, and the merchant is reading him a moral. It is curious that on the bas-relief the monk is represented with a burden; this corresponds to the verses of the Jātaka, but not to the commentary in prose. The latter not only does not say anything about the burden, but even says explicitly that the monk was begging alms, that is, that he went with a bowl.

Note to No. 31. I connect the bas-reliefs 2 and 8, and regard them as two scenes of the Miga-potaka-jātaka (see translation, p. 194): 1, the meeting of the hermit with the doe; the hermit has just entered the woods; 2, the hermit mourns for the dead doe; Sakka admonishes him. In view of such an explanation, I cannot agree with the identification of Hultzsch, who himself, by the way, hesitatingly suggests the Nigrodhamiga-jātaka (Fausböll, No. 12).

Note to No. 37. I see in the given bas-relief the Kapota-jātaka (see page 195, below), other versions of which are found also in the Jātaka, Numbers 274 and 375 and 395. Here is represented the scene in which the crow flies to the dove which

is sitting in a basket, or else that in which the dove admonishes the crow that pretends to be sick.

A great number of the Jātakas which had been explained heretofore had at the very start been pointed out by Cunningham with the aid of Subhūti; these are those numbered in my table 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, (according to I. P. Minaev's indication) 10, 11, 13, 15, 32, 43, 44, 47, 50; Rhys Davids was the first to explain no. 42; Warren, 39, 48; Minaev, 5; Hultzsche, 3, 19, 36: I was the first to point out 12 (?), 27, 31, 37; no. 14 is doubtful; it is explained in three ways, as shown above.

The greatest merits in the explanation of the Bharhut Stūpa belong to Cunningham; and, next after him, unquestionably to Hultzsche, who was the first to give reliable reproductions and readings of the inscriptions.

[Dr. Oldenburg next gives translations of the following four Jātaka-tales:

- List-No., 12, Sandhibheda, Fausböll, No. 349;
- List-No., 27, Camma-sāṭaka, Fausböll, No. 324;
- List-No., 31, Miga-potaka, Fausböll, No. 372;
- List-No., 37, Kapota, Fausböll, No. 42.

Of the second and fourth of these, Morris has given easily accessible translations (references below); and the fourth may also be found in *The Jātaka, translated under the editorship of E. B. Cowell*, vol. i. (by R. Chalmers), p. 112. For the sake of space, we omit these two.—Eds.]

Jataka of the Divider' (Sandhi-bheda), No. 349.

Once during the reign of Brahmādatta at Benares, the Bodhisatta, who was his son, having studied at Takkaśilā, came to rule [346] the kingdom after the death of his father. At that time a shepherd was herding some cows in the forest. When he was about to return home, he overlooked one cow which was with calf, and, leaving her, he returned home. The cow struck up a friendship with a lioness. Both became true friends and walked together. After a while, the cow bore a bull-calf and the lioness a male whelp. Both young ones became true friends on account of the friendship of their families and walked together. Once a hunter saw their friendship. Having bagged some game in the forest, he went to Benares and gave it to the king. The king asked, "Have you not, my good man, seen any miracle in the forest?" He said, "My Lord, I have seen nothing but a lion and a bullock in friendship and walking together." "Should a third one come into their midst there will be trouble. If you see among them a third one, let me know." "Very well, my Lord," answered the hunter. When the hunter went to Benares, a

¹ Cf. Minaev, I. P., "Něskol'ko slov o buddijskikh jātakah," *Ž. M. N. P.*, clxi. 222-224. The name of the Jātaka may be rendered also by 'Separation of union.'

jackal began to wait on the lion and the bullock ; when the hunter came into the forest, he saw him and thought to himself, " I shall inform the king that a third one has appeared," and he went into the city.

The jackal thought to himself, "There is nothing that I have not eaten except the meat of a lion or a bullock. I will put strife between the lion and the bullock, and have a feast of their meat." After having thought so to himself, he brought strife between them by saying to each, "This one says so and so about you," and he caused them to quarrel till they were like to die. In the meanwhile the hunter went to the king and said, "My Lord, a third one has come among them." "Who is it?" said the king. "The jackal, sire," answered the hunter. The king said, "He will put strife between them and will kill them. But we will arrive there when both are dead." Having said this, he seated himself in his chariot, went along the road pointed out by the hunter, and arrived there when they, having fought together, had already perished. The jackal, happy and contented, was eating, now the flesh of the lion, now that of the bullock. The king seeing that both had perished, standing up in his chariot and conversing with the charioteer, pronounced the following stanzas :

1. There was here community neither in wives
Nor in food, O charioteer;
And behold, this divider—
What a cunningly devised plot he has !
2. As the sharp sword into the flesh
So cuts the deceitful word,
For which mean beasts
[347] Devour the ox and the lion.
3. There will lie upon this bed¹
Which you see, O charioteer,
He who to the word of the divider,
The deceitful one, will listen.
4. Those men will prosper
Like men who have gone to heaven,
Who to the words of the divider
Will not listen, O charioteer !

¹ That is, the bed of death ; he is thinking of the lion and the bullock who had killed each other.

Jataka¹ of the hermit in the leathern cloak (Camma-sataka), No. 324.

[This translation we omit—see above, p. 192.—Eds.]

[To the words of Morris's version, "The Teacher," etc., Oldenburg gives the following note :]

There is some inconsistency here in the naming. "Teacher" is used instead of "wise trader." As a rule, when stanzas are introduced by Buddha himself telling the story, this is generally indicated by calling them *abhisambuddha-gāthā*, 'stanzas pronounced by the Teacher after he haū become Buddha.'

Jataka of the young fawn (Miga-potaka), No. 372.

Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was Sakka (Indra). At that time a certain inhabitant of the kingdom of Kāsi went to the Himālaya, and became a hermit and lived on wild fruits. Now it so fell on a day, that he saw in the forest a young fawn whose dam had died. So the hermit took it to his hermitage and gave it some food and began to bring it up. The young fawn grew up and became very beautiful and comely. The hermit adopted it as a son and took care of it. One day the young fawn ate too much grass and died of indigestion. The hermit began to mourn for it, saying "My son is dead." Then Sakka, king of the gods, looking over the world, saw the hermit; and thinking, "I will admonish him,"² he went to the hermit, and, standing in the air, pronounced the first stanza :

1. It is not good that you having gone from home, and homeless, a monk, should mourn for one that is dead.

[349] Hearing that, the ascetic pronounced the second stanza :

2. From living together, you know, O Sakka, either with man or with beast, love springs up in the heart, and it is not possible to refrain from weeping for him (i. e. the dead, man or beast).

Then Sakka pronounced two stanzas :

3. They who weep for one dead or dying weep and lament [continually]. Therefore do not weep, O hermit. Wise men say weeping is in vain.

4. If weeping, indeed, could make the dead to rise, then we should all come together and weep for our relations.

While Sakka was saying this, the hermit came to understand that weeping was vain; and glorifying Sakka, he pronounced three stanzas :

¹ A translation was given by Richard Morris, "Folk-tales of India," *Folk-Lore Journal*, iii. 248-249 (1885), Reprint, 64-65.

² [Pāli *sañvejjessāmi nam*, Oldenburg's Russian, *usovēšču ego*, 'ich werde ihm ins Gewissen reden.' It would seem to mean lit'ly, 'I'll stir him up.'—Ed.]

5. In me who was ablaze, like a fire besprinkled with ghee, as if sprinkled with water, you have extinguished all my pain.

6. The arrow which was fixt in my heart is torn out from me by you who have dispelled the grief for my son from me half dead with grief.

7. The arrow is torn from me. Without grief am I, and quiet. I do not grieve, I do not weep, having heard you, O Vāsava.

[Sakka, having given the hermit this exhortation, went to his own place.]

Jataka¹ of the dove (Kapota), No. 42.

[This translation we omit—see above, p. 192.—EDS.]

2. The frescoes of the caves of Ajanta.

I shall give here only what is most essential of the rich literature of the caves of Ajantā.

1. BURGESS, J. *Notes on the Bauddha rock-temples of Ajanta, their paintings and sculptures, and on the paintings of the Bagh caves, modern Bauddha mythology, etc.* Bombay, 1879. (ASWI, No. 9.)

2. FERGUSSON, J., AND BURGESS, J. *The cave-temples of India.* London, 1880. This work gives a bibliographical list of the literature of the subject.

3. BURGESS, J., AND BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI. *Inscriptions from the cave-temples of Western India, with descriptive notes, etc.* Bombay, 1881. (ASWI, No. 10.)

4. BURGESS, J. *Report on the Buddhist cave-temples and their inscriptions.* London, 1883.

5. WADDELL, L. A. "Note on some Ajanta paintings," *Indian Antiquary*, xxii. 8–11 (1893).

In explaining the numerous frescoes in the caves of Ajantā, I have come across a serious impediment, an almost complete [352] absence of reproductions, so that, in spite of the excellent descriptions of Dr. Burgess in his notes, I could be sure of the correctness of my explanations only in the case of a few scenes. These I shall here adduce. Many scenes seem to me familiar; but, as I have not been able to test my impressions by actual reproductions, I hesitate to publish these identifications. I hope the time is not far off when the frescoes of Ajantā will be published in reproductions worthy of the subject. [Amen and Amen!—ED.]

All my citations refer to the *Notes* (No. 1 of the preceding bibliography), except the last citation, which refers to the *Inscriptions* (No. 3).

¹ A translation was given by R. Morris, "Folk-tales of India," *Folk-Lore Journal*, iii. 329–333 (1885), Reprint, 73–76. See also Bishop Copleston's "Papers" (cited above, p. 186, No. 6), pages 163–166.

Current No.	No. of Cave.		No. of Jātaka.	Title of
1.	II.	Nos. VIII., IX., page 32— (cf. below, 5).	534	Mahā-haṇsa.
2.	—	No. XXVII., page 38.	482	Ruru.
3.	IX.	No. I., page 47—(cf. below, 11).	499	Sivi. ¹
4.	X.	Page 50.	514	Chaddanta. ^{1,2}
5.	XVII.	No. XIX., pages 65–66— (cf. above, 1).	534	Mahā-haṇsa.
6.	—	Nos. XXII.–XXIV., pages 66–67.	W.539	Mahā-vessan- tara (?).
7.	—	No. XXV., page 67.	516	Mahā-kapi.
8.	—	Nos. XXXVI.–XXXVII., page 70.	455	Māti-posaka.
9.	—	No. XXXVIII., page 71.	W.532	Sāma (?).
10.	—	No. XXXIX., page 71.	278	Mahisa.
11.	—	No. LIV., pages 75–76— (cf. above, 3).	499	Sivi. ¹
12.	II.	Outside chamber to the left. Inscriptions, pp. 81–82.	313	Khanti-vādi. ³

3. The bas-reliefs of the temple of Boro-Boedoer.

[353] [First a little space may be given to the bibliography.]

1. LEEMANS, C. *Borô-Boudour dans l'île de Java*. Dessiné par ou sous la direction de M. F. C. Wilsen, avec texte descriptif et explicatif, rédigé, d'après les mémoires manuscrits et imprimés de MM. F. C. Wilsen, et J. F. G. Brumund, et autres documents, et publié, d'après les ordres de son Excellence le Ministre des Colonies, par le Dr. C. Leemans. Leide, 1874. (Text, in French and in Dutch, and Atlas.)

2. IJZERMAN, J. W. "Iets over den oorspronkelijken voet van Boro Boedoer." *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land-, en volkenkunde*, xxxi. 261–268.

At about the time of the appearance of Leemans's book, the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences published from these bas-reliefs 65 photographs, mentioned in the *Notulen*, xii. 71ff and 42ff (1874); see JA. 7. v. 569–570. To these photographs I could not get access.

¹ Pointed out by Burgess.

² See Burgess, *Report*, pp. 45–46. Cf. L. Feer, *Le Chaddanta-jātaka*, JA. 9. v. 81–85 and 189–223 (1895). [See also No. 8 in the Bharhut list, above.]

³ In Burgess, *Inscriptions*, 81, note, there is a statement that Kshānti-vādin was the name of Gautama Buddha in one of his previous births. There are verses in the inscription which evidently belong to some version of this Jātaka.

Nor could I get the article by J. Groneman, "De Bārâboedoer op Midden-Java." Voordracht van een leek voor leeken. *De Indische Gids*, 1887, pages 99-125.

Unfortunately, I am very little acquainted with the literature of the famous Buddhist temple in Java, since the majority of Dutch publications in which anything is said of this remarkable monument of Buddhist art are inaccessible in St. Petersburg. I nevertheless venture on saying something in regard to the bas-reliefs of this temple, since I have succeeded in explaining a few scenes represented on them which, so far as I know, have never before been identified.

I think that the majority of representations refer to the Jātakas. On the plates we may expect to find Jātakas in nos. XVI.-CXXXV. (lower row, even numbers); CXXXVI.-CCXXX. (A and B); CCXCV.-CCCII.; CCCXLVII.-CCCLV.; CCC-LXXXIX.-CCCXCII.

I consider the identifications which I give below, in the form of tables, as the beginning of an explanation of the whole series of bas-reliefs, which, I hope, will offer no insurmountable obstacles as soon as the whole material is at hand. In plates CXXXVI.-CLXX. (A), I think that I find representations of 34 Jātakas, arranged approximately in the order followed in the Jātaka-mālā, although a few scenes are not quite intelligible to me. The main difficulty which I see in this is that the artists have not always seized sharply the most important feature of the story, and have lost themselves too much in insignificant details. It may, however, be that they had a somewhat different text, although this is doubtful.

[The numbers on the left refer, of course, to the plates in Leemans's great work. The numbers preceding the name of the Jātaka on the right are the current numbers of Professor Kern's edition of the *Jātaka-mālā* in the Harvard Oriental Series.]

[Page 354 of the Russian begins with the beginning of this table; page 355, with CXLVI. 47; page 356, with CLIV. 78; page 357, with CLXIII. 111.]

CXXXVI.	1.	?	
	2.	?	
	3-4.	[No picture.]	[5-12, not given.]
CXXXVII.	13-14.	[No picture.]	
CXXXVIII.	15.	[No picture.]	
	16.	Merchant carrying food.	} 4. Cṛeṣṭhi.
	17.	Hell. Pratyekabuddha.	
	18.	Pratyekabuddha flies	
		away.	
CXXXIX.	22.	[No picture.]	[19-21, not given.]
	23.	?	

	24.	The animals bringing gifts to Indra.	6. Çaçā.
	25.	The hare getting ready to jump into the fire.	
CXL.	26-29.	}	?
CXLI.	30.		
	31-32.		
		Five Yakshas and the shepherd.	8. Maitra-bala.
	33.	King Maitrabala and the	
CXLII.	34.	Yakshas.	}
	35-36.	?	
CXLIII.	37.	The giving up of the elephant.	9. Viçvan-tara.
	38.	The children of Viçvan-tara.	
CXLIV.	39.	Yakshas leading Viç-vantara.	}
	40-46.	?	
CXLVI.	47.	[No picture.]	}
	48.	Offering Unm. as wife to king.	
	49.	King's ambassadors and Unm.	13. Unmāda-yantī.
	50.	Ambassadors reporting to the king.	
CXLVII.	51.	The king's meeting with Unm.	}
	52.	Merchants on the sea.	
	53-54.	}	?
CXLVIII.	55.		
	56.	Fishes in the lake before the rain.	15. Matsya.
	57.	The fishes after the rain.	
	58.	Quail in nest during the fire.	16. Vartakā-potaka.
CXLIX.	59.	Indra before the king, with jar.	
	60.	[Only lower part of one figure left.]	17. Kumbha.
CL.	61-63.	}	[No picture.]
CLI.	64.		
	65-66.	Hermits in the woods.	}
	67.	?	
CLII.	68.	Indra repenting.	19. Bisa.
	69-71.	?	
			}
CLIII.	72.	[No picture.]	
	73.	Man and wife going to the forest.	21. Cudda-bodhi.
	74.	The king in the forest.	
	75.	Rape of the hermit's wife	

CLIV.	76.	[No picture.]	}	22. Haṇsa.
	77.	Swans on the lake.		
	78.	Reporting to king about the swans.		
	79.	Hunter catches the swans.		
CLV.	80.	[No picture.]	}	22. Haṇsa.
	81.	Swan's talk with king. (Fragment.)		
	82-84.	[Lost and so not in the Plates.]		
CLVI.	85-87.	[No picture.]		
	88.	[Only a fragment.]		
CLVII.	89.	?		
	90.	King goes hunting.	}	25. Çarabha.
	91.	King in the ravine.		
	92.	The Çarabha rescues the king.		
CLVIII.	93.	The Çarabha's farewell.		
	94.	[Fragment.]		
CLIX.	95.	Beasts in the forest.	}	26. Ruru.
	96.	The drowning man and the ruru-deer.		
	97.	King in the forest.		
	98.	The ruru's sermon.		
CLX.	99-100.	Bringing fruit to the king. (?)	}	27. Mahā-kapi.
	101.	King getting ready to find the fruit.		
	102.	The escaping monkeys.		
CLXI.	103.	The sleeping king.		
	104.	King looking for his wives.	}	28. Kṣānti.
	105.	?		
CLXII.	106.	[Fragment.]		
	107.	[No picture.]		
CLXIII.	108-110.	[No picture.]		
	111.	Brahma preaches to the king.	}	29. Brahma.
CLXIV.	112.	Elephant and one of the pilgrims.		
	113.	Pilgrims.		
	114.	Elephant about to jump down.		
	115.	Pilgrims worship elephant's remains.		30. Hasti.

CLXV.	116.	Sutasoma and the Brahman.	} 31. Sutasoma.
	117.	Saudāsa kidnaps Sutasoma.	
	118.	Su. hears the words of the Brahman.	
	119.	Su. preaches to Saudāsa and the princes.	
CLXVI.	120.	Birth of the prince.	} 32. Ayo-gr̥ha.
	121-122.	?	
	123.	Departure of the prince.	
	124-126.	?	
CLXVII.	127.	The prince turns hermit.	} 33. Mahiṣa.
CLXVIII.	128.	[No picture.]	
CLXIX.	129.	Monkey and ox.	
	130.	Yaksha asks ox why he endures monkey.	
	131.	?	} 34. Çata-pat-tra.
	132.	Yaksha listens to sermon of ox.	
CLXX.	133.	?	
	134.	Lion with bone stuck in his throat.	
	135.	Woodpecker takes bone from lion's throat.	}
	136.	Woodpecker converses with lion.	

[358] Of the other separate scenes, I shall give here only those whose identification seems to me indisputable.

The Sudhana Kinnaravadana.¹

XVI.	2.	?
XVII.	4.	?
XVIII.	6.	a. King Dakṣiṇa-pañcāla's talk with the snake-charmer. b. Janmacitra's curses and the hunter Halaka's appearance. c. J's gratitude to the hunter for his liberation.
XIX.	8.	Halaka's sojourn in Janmacitra's house.
XX.	10.	Princess kinnarī Manoharā with a kinnarī at Brahmasabhā lake.
XXI.	12.	Prince Sudhana fetches princess Manoharā.
XXII.	14.	?
XXIII.	16.	The prince saying farewell to his mother.

¹ See *Divyāvadāna*, xxx., and my *Buddiṣkija legendy*, part 1, St. Petersburg, 1894, pages 43-47 and 80.

- XXIV. 18. The prince meeting Indra.
 XXV. 20. The king consulting in regard to his son.
 XXVI. 22. Manoharā flies away.
 XXVII. 24. The prince presenting himself to his father after the campaign.
 XXVIII. 26. The prince conversing with his mother.
 XXIX. 28. ?
 XXX. 30. Prince and hermit.
 XXXI. 32. Prince in kinnara's realm; at the pond.
 XXXII. 34. The trial with the bow.
 XXXIII. 36. The trial with the girls.
 XXXIV. 38. The dances of the kinnari.
 XXXV. 40. Sudhana and Manoharā giving presents after their return.

Maitra-kanyaka.¹

- CXXIII. 216. Shipwreck. Meeting with the four girls.
 CXXIV. 218. Meeting with eight girls.
 CXXV. 220. Meeting with 16 girls (11 represented). [359]
 CXXVI. 222. Meeting with 32 girls (only 14 represented).
 CXXVII. 224. a. Sojourn in city of the 32 girls.
 b. The coming upon the preta.
 c. The wheel falls on Maitrakanyaka's head.

Kacchapavadana.

I know this Jātaka only from Rājendralāla Mitra's account taken from the Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpa-latā, xevii.

- CLXXXII. 192, A. The turtle in the sea.
 193. Shipwreck.
 194. Turtle saving the drowning men.
 CLXXXIII. 195. Turtle offering itself as food to the saved.

The Horse Balaha.²

- CCCLXXXIX. 4. Balāha takes the travellers across the sea.

¹ See my *Buddiyskija legendy*, 40–43, and 79–80, where the literature is given.

² I do not undertake to say which one of the numerous versions of the artist here has in mind. In regard to the different versions of this legend see my letter to G. N. Potanin, printed by him in the *Etnografičeskaje Obozrēnie*, ix. 95–98 (1891).